601 2) Sister of my husband: muramukazi wanjye
3) Wife of my husband's brother: mukeba wanjye
4) Second wife of my sister's husband: umugore wa muramu wanjye or mukeba w'uwo tuv'indimwe
Those who have married two sisters: abasanzire
Two men, each of whom has married the sister of the other: abaramu
Father of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my son-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my son-in-law: umwana wanjye
Father of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my daughter-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my daughter-in-law: umwana wanjye [17]

5. The Blood Pact

608 The blood pact (kunywana) is practiced throughout the whole of Ruanda and particularly by the Bahutu. Blood brothers (abanywanyi) can depend on each other completely. They must help each other in the most difficult circumstances of life and may even mutually dispose of their property (1) and their wives (2).

1. By special agreement.

2. With the consent of the wives.

The interested parties, each one assisted by a witness who will guarantee the other party's observation of the pact, sit down on a mat in the hut of one of them. Each of the witnesses cuts a leaf of coral erythrin (muko) and removes the stalk; he rolls the leaf into a cone shape and pours into it a little sorghum flour. Then with a small knife he makes an incision below the navel of the one he is assisting. He presses the sides of the cut to make the blood flow, collects it in the cone, and mixes it with the flour, using the leaf stalk. Then each party drinks the mixture called gihango (lit., blood) presented to him by the other's witness. The witnesses then pronounce imprecations (kutanga) in the name of their respective clients in order to seal the pact: "If you find me ill or wounded on the road and do not help me, may the gihango kill you."

608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, [562] the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

428 A man who has concluded the blood pact (kunywana) (2)

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429

2. Cf. Personal Status, The Blood Pact, p.13.

inherits from his blood brother (umunywanyi) if the latter dies without leaving any male relatives. He may marry the wife of the deceased but not his daughter, who is considered as being his child, and he exercises paternal authority over the orphans.

429 If the deceased is tied to a patron by a lease of livestock and has no brother, the guardianship of the children who are minors belongs to the shebuja (kumuremera). In the opposite case, the shebuja shares it with a paternal or a maternal uncle of the orphans. If the patron has paid his client's dowry, he will take the dowries given for his umugaragu's daughters and will keep them to enable the boys to marry. Thus, in this case, a Mututsi becomes chief of the Muhutu's rugo.

9. Reversion of Property in Escheat

428 As women do not inherit, in the unlikely case of the deceased having no male relatives, his patron takes back the cows that belonged to him and appropriates the small livestock, tools, etc. (inzungu) (3). The fields, banana plantations, and pastures left

3. From guzungura, " to inherit without being a relative."

under the same conditions (inkungu) (1) go to the political chief who

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

assigns them to another man. But widows are authorized to live in their own rugo.

If the deceased is not tied by an ubugaragu contract, all his property goes to the political chief who disposes of it as he sees fit.

643 [551] Often an interdiction is attached to a king's name: a Yuhi, for instance, may not cross great rivers like the Nyabarongo (3).

3. River flowing into the Akanyaru which forms the boundary between Ruanda and Urundi.

[775] After his death the king becomes a sort of divinity for the people. He has gone to Hades to join the demigods, his ancestors.

643 644 The king shares the supreme authority with his mother (umugabekazi) (4). She is all-powerful, often more powerful than

4. The king's wife is called Umwamikazi or simply Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. The present King's wife is called Nyiramakomare.

her son. Whoever pays homage to the king [88] must also do so to his mother. She intervenes in law proceedings and the distribution of land, herds, etc. The king and his mother together are called Abami. The continual presence of the queen mother at her son's [608] side is essential (1) and if the king loses his mother, he will be given

1. Kankazi, mother of Rudahigwa Mutara, lives on Shyogwa Hill in Marangara. This measure was taken by the Belgian government because, remembering the disastrous role played by Nyirayuhi with Musinga, they wished to prevent the mother of the present King from exercising too great a political influence.

an official mother. The king's mother has a special name, the [551] same as that of her son, except when the king is called Mutara; that name even the court familiars cannot give her (2). The same honors

2. Yuhi Musinga's mother Kanjogera, bore the royal name of Nyirayuhi. Kankazi, mother of Mutara Rudahigwa, is called Nyiramavugo.

563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

512 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

512 608 628 There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 is divided into zones settled by different clans which are often
608 hostile to each other, the individual can depend only on his
628 clansmen. When he goes abroad, outside his clan's sphere of influence, he must look for personal friends and secure their pledge of protection, thus making possible his sojourn in strange parts of the land. This is the reason why traders enter into the greatest number of brotherhood pacts. People who never leave their hillsides do not make this pact, and pacts between the inhabitants of the same hillside also are not common.

572 Brotherhood is sealed by special ceremonies. On the day of
608 the pact the one who wants to enter into brotherhood goes to the house of his future blood brother, accompanied by a witness. He is received there also in the presence of a witness. All four men sit down on a mat on the hut floor. The articles necessary for the ceremony are placed beside them: mutsima, stiff millet mush; a knife; and a hoe.

The witness of the guest takes the knife and makes a scratch to the right of the latter's navel. He catches the blood on a piece of mutsima and hands the knife to the witness of the houseowner, who repeats the same ceremony with his candidate. The two blood brothers then eat each other's blood along with the mutsima. Then the first witness takes the knife, begins to sharpen it on his skin, and says:

[244] Mwumwe! Ntuza yaniwanye na ntuza.
Harken! This one enters into blood brotherhood with that one.

Elmwa kanaka uramuka umutatiye iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Hear you (this one), if you dare betray him, this vow will kill you.

Akomerekera mw' itawalo wanga kumuheka, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
If he is wounded in battle, you refuse to carry (him), this vow will kill you.

Umushigisha amata iwawe, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you him milk yours, this vow will kill you.

Wanga kumuheka, yarwaliye mw' itawalo, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you to carry, when he falls in battle, this vow will kill you.

572 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
608 (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood
608 brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new
431 friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to
608 attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood
614 brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed
628 by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its
609 significance. This may be considered a result of state organiza-
614 tion which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organiza-
178 tion. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.